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September 1982

THOMPSON, HOMER A(rmstrong)

Born Devlin, Ontario, Canada; September 7, 1906
Married 1934 to Dorothy Burr (Thompson); 3 daughters
Naturalized as citizen of U.S.A. November 30, 1951
Residence: 134 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J. 08540 Tel.(609) 921-2243
Office: Institute for Advanced Study; Princeton, N. J. 08540 Tel.(609) 924-4400

Education

1925: B.A. University of British Columbia
1927: M.A. " " "
1929: Ph.D. University of Michigan

Career

1925-27: Instructor in Classics, University of British Columbia
1929-39: Fellow, American School of Classical Studies at Athens
1933-41: Assistant professor, Classical Archaeology, Toronto
1941-46: Associate " " " "
1946-47: Professor and head of Department of Art and Archaeology, Toronto
1933-47: Assistant Director of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto and Curator of the Classical Collection
1929-- : Staff member, Excavation of the Athenian Agora, for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
1947-68: Field Director, Excavation of the Athenian Agora
1947-- : Professor of Classical Archaeology, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Emeriti 1977--.
1954-71: visiting lecturer, Princeton University
1959-60: George Eastman Visiting Professor at Oxford University
1964: Geddes-Harrower Professor at University of Aberdeen
1968-69: Visiting Professor at Columbia University
1972: Distinguished Visitor Award, Australian-American Educational Foundation

War Service

1942-45: Lieutenant Royal Canadian Naval Reserve;
on loan 1943-45 to Royal Navy as Intelligence officer in the Adriatic

Memberships

Archaeological Institute of America
American Numismatic Society
Society of Architectural Historians
American Philosophical Society
American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Royal Society of Canada (retired)
British Academy (corresponding)
Society for Promotion of Hellenic Studies (honorary)
Society of Antiquaries of London
Greek Archaeological Society (honorary)
German Archaeological Institute (honorary)
Heidelberg Academy of Sciences
Göteborg Academy
Swedish Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities
Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

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Honors

Commander, Order of the Phoenix (Greece, 1956)
Honorary citizenship of Athens, 1956
Honorary degrees from the following
- British Columbia (1949)
- Dartmouth (1957)
- Michigan (1957)
- Toronto (1961)
- Athens (1963)
- Lyon (1963)
- Freiburg i. Br. (1966)
- Wooster (1972)
- New York University (1972)

Award for Distinguished Archaeological Achievement from Archaeological Institute of America 1972.

Publications

The Agora of Athens: the History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center, with R. E. Wycherley, Princeton, 1972
and numerous studies in classical archaeology (architecture, sculpture, vases and the monuments of Athens) published for the most part in *Hesperia* (Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

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Articles

"The Pnyx in Athens," Hesperia I (1932), 90-217. (with K. Kourouniotis)

"Syrian Wheat in Hellenistic Egypt," Archiv für Papyrusforschung IX (1930), 207-213

"The Athenian Pnyx," American Journal of Archaeology 37 (1933), 652-656. (with K. Kourouniotis).

"Terracotta Lamps," Hesperia II (1933), 195-215.

"Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," Hesperia III (1934), 311-480.

"The Topography of the West Side of the Agora," A.J.A. 39 (1935), 114.

"Pnyx and Thesmophorion," Hesperia V (1936), 151-200.

"Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," Hesperia VI (1937), 1-226.

"A Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena Phratrios Newly Found in Athens," Hesperia VII (1938), 612-625. (with N, Kyparisses).

"Additional Note on the Identification of the Property of the Salaminians at Sounion," Hesperia VII (1938), 75-76.

"The Metal Works of Athens and the Hephaisteion," A.J.A. 42 (1938), 123.

"The Golden Nikai of Athena," A.J.A. 44 (1940) 109f. (with Dorothy B. Thompson).

"A Golden Nike," in Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Supplement I. Cambridge, Mass. (1940), 183-210.

"The Pnyx in the Fourth Century," A.J.A. 46 (1942), 123

"Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx," Hesperia XII (1943), 269-383. (with R. L. Scrant

"The Influence of Basketry on Attic Geometric Pottery," A.J.A. 50 (1946), 286.

"Head of Nike from the Athenian Agora," Archaeology II (1949), 17-19.

"Stoa of Attalos," Archaeology II (1949), 124-130.

"The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion," Hesperia XVIII (1949), 230-268.

"Découverte sur l'agora d'Athènes d'un édifice du Ve siècle av. J.C. qui pourrait avoir appartenu au Poecile," résumé of a letter in Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1940), 182.

"Greek and Roman Societies' Joint Meeting, Oxford, 3-10 August, 1948," Phoenix II (1947-1948), 88-89.

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"Some Recent Developments in the Excavation of the Athenian Agora", Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada/Series IV/Volume XII/1974

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"The Odeion in the Athenian Agora," Hesperia XIX (1950), 31-141.

"An Archaic Gravestone from the Athenian Agora," in Commemorative Studies in Honor of T. Leslie Shear (Hesperia, Supplement VIII). Princeton. (1949) 373-377.

"The Odeion in the Athenian Agora," Hesperia XIX, 1950, 31-141.

"Agrippa's Concert-Hall in the Athenian Agora," Archaeology III (1950), 155-157.

"The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora," Hesperia XXI (1952), 47-82.

"The Athenian Agora, Excavation and Reconstruction." Archaeology VI (1953), 142-146.

"Rebuilding the Stoa of Attalos. Progress Report, Spring 1954," Archaeology VII (1954), 180-182.

"Classical Congress in Copenhagen," Archaeology VII (1954), 249-250.

"Athens and the Hellenistic Princes," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society XCVII (1953), 254-261.

"The Athenian Agora. A Sketch of the Evolution of Its Plan," Acta Congressus Madvigiani. Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Classical Studies. Copenhagen (1957). Vol. I, 341-352.

"Athenian Twilight, A.D. 267-600," Journal of Roman Studies XLIX (1959), 61-72.

"The Panathenaic Festival," résumé in Proceedings of the Classical Association XVII (1960), 26.

"Odeion of Agrippa or Sanctuary of Theseus?" Revue Archéologique (1960), 1-3.

"The Sculptural Adornment of the Hephaisteion," American Journal of Archaeology 66 (1962) 339-347.

"Some Consequences of the Worship of Heroes in Ancient Athens" (in modern Greek), (1964), Scientific Yearbook of the Philosophical School of the University of Athens, 1964, 275-284.

"A colossal Moulding in Athens," Greek Archaeological Society (Festschrift in honor of A. K. Orlandos) (1964), vol. I, 314-323.

"A Note on the Berlin Foundry Cup," Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann (1965) 323-328.

"Classical Lands," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (1966), 100-104.

"The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in The Athenian Agora," Hesperia XXXV (1966), 171-187.

"Some Libraries in Ancient Athens," Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin (1966), 2-9

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"	1947	"	XVII (1948), 149-196
"	1948	"	XVIII (1949), 211-229
"	1949	"	XIX (1950), 313-337
	"	Archaeology	II (1949), 184f.
"	1950	Hesperia	XX (1951), 45-60
	"	Archäologischer Anzeiger	(1950/51), 141-151
"	1951	Hesperia	XXI (1952), 83-113
"	1952	"	XXII (1953), 25-56
	"	A.J.A.	57 (1953), 21-25
"	1953	Hesperia	XXIII (1954), 31-67
"	1954	"	XXIV (1955), 50-71
"	1955	"	XXV (1956), 46-68
"	1956	"	XXVI (1957), 99-107
"	1957	"	XXVII (1958), 145-160
"	1958	"	XXVIII (1959), 91-108
"	1959	"	XXIX (1960), 327-368
	"	Archaeology	XII (1959), 284-285
"	1960-65	Hesperia	XXXV (1966), 37-54
"	1966-67	"	XXVII. (1968), 36-72

"Architecture as a Medium of Public Relations among the Successors of Alexander," Studies in the History of Art, National Gallery of Art, Washington, vol. 10 (1982), 173-90.

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Reviews

V. Scully, The Earth, the Temple and the Gods
Art Bulletin XLV (1963), 277-280

A. N. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens
Archaeology 18 (1965), 305f.

J. M. Cook and W. H. Plommer, The Sanctuary of Hemithea at Kastabos
Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XXVI (1967), 217-220

H. H. Büsing, Die griechische Halbsäule
Art Bulletin LIV (1972), 537-539

P. W. Lehmann, Samothrace, Vol. 3: The Hieron
Archaeology 26 (1973), 228f.

Rev. of P. Bernard, & others, Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum I. Memoires de la Délégation Archeologique Française en Afghanistan, Tome XXI (1973)
Artibus Asiae XXXVII (1975), pp. 249-254.

Rev. of J. A. Bundgaard, The Excavation of the Athenian Acropolis, American Journal of Archaeology 79 (1975) 378, 379

J. A. Bundgaard
Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Height, Copenhagen, 1976
American Journal of Archaeology 82 (1978), pp. 356-358

R. E. Wycherley
The Stones of Athens
Princeton, 1978
Archaeology 31 (1978), pp. 63ff.

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Books

The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors
Hesperia, Supplement IV, 1940, pp. 160, figs. 105, pls. III.

The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens
Princeton, 1959, pp. 1-32, figs. 36

The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation and Museum
Athens, 1962, pp. 230, figs. 29, pls. XVIII (Part author and editor)

The Agora of Athens: the History, Form and Uses of an Ancient City Center
Princeton, 1971, pp. 257, figs. 57, pls. CXII (Joint author with R. E. Wycherley)

The Athenian Agora: A Short Guide 1976
The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation & Museum, third Edition. Revised & Enlarged, Athens, 1976

Obituary Notices

Lucy Talcott, Gnomon, 43, (1971), 104f.

Sir John Beazley, Year Book of the American Philosophical Society, 1972, 115-121.

Gisela M. A. Richter, op. cit., 1973, 144-150.

William Bell Dinsmoor, Year Book of the American Philosophical Society, 1974, 156-163.

Roland Hampe, Year Book of the American Philosophical Society, 1981, 448-451.

John B. Ward-Perkins, Year Book of the American Philosophical Society, 1981, 523-527.

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THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

ARCHAEOLOGY

Homer A. Thompson

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ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Archaeology was recognized early in the history of the Institute through professorial appointments: B.D. Meritt in 1935, H. Goldman and E. E. Herzfeld in 1936, H. A. Thompson in 1947.

In his years at the Institute Herzfeld wrote his principal books on Iranian art, archaeology and religion. Miss Goldman's appointment enabled her to carry through to completion the excavation and publication of the ancient city of Tarsus which represented a major contribution to our knowledge of Anatolian history. Before coming to the Institute B.D. Meritt had already embarked on a comprehensive study of the inscriptions which record the contributions made by the member states of the Athenian League in the 5th century B.C. With the collaboration of visiting members, especially M.F. Mcgregor and H.T. Wade-Gery, this work was completed and published as The Athenian Tribute Lists (4 volumes, 1939-1953). The great value of the work lies in its consolidation of our knowledge about the financing and the economy of one of the most famous empires of antiquity. In addition to his work on the Tribute Lists Meritt produced a series of articles and books in which he cleared up many points relating to the Athenian calendar and to the precise dating of events in Athenian history.

Throughout his time at the Institute Meritt retained a close association with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The same has been true of myself. This duality of interest has led to a fruitful symbiosis between the two institutions whereby professors at the Institute have been able to participate in the work of the School, particularly in connection with its exploration of the Agora, the civic centre of ancient Athens, begun in 1931. Meritt assumed resonsibility for the publication of the inscriptions found in these excavations, some 7500 in number, which bear on many aspects of Athenian life. With the aid

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of a number of visiting members he carried out the preliminary publication of the great majority of the new documents, and he is now far advanced with the preparation of a classified corpus of the inscriptions.

This same partnership with the School in Athens enabled me to serve as Field Director of the School's excavations in the Agora from 1947 to 1967. This involved my supervision of the fieldwork through the summer months and the writing of annual excavation reports. Since retiring from the field-directorship I have retained responsibility for the publication of the results of operations through 1967. Up to the present, seventeen volumes of the definitive publication have appeared, as also fourteen picture books which have illustrated some characteristic aspects of Athenian life for a larger public. In addition to supervising the preparation of volumes by various colleagues I have contributed to the major series a comprehensive volume (No. XIV) on the Athenian Agora, written in collaboration with a visiting member, R. E. Wycherley, At present I am nearing the completion of three more volumes which will deal with the buildings of the classical period.

Like most of my colleagues I have from time to time taken leave of absence and filled visiting professorships in various universities: Oxford (1959/60), Aberdeen (1964), Columbia (1968), Princeton (1970).

Apart from those who have worked closely with permanent members, other visiting members have made important contributions in various departments of archaeology as a result of their sojourns in Princeton. A few typical cases may be noted. The English scholar Alan Wace was able through successive visits (1948-54) to complete the publication of his exploration of Mycenae, begun in the 1920's. George Mylonas (1955/56, 1959) did the same for another important Greek site, Eleusis. The German scholar Frank Brommer was assisted by memberships at the Institute (1957/58, 1964/65) in producing two massive volumes on the sculptures of the Parthenon, now the standard works on the subject. Pierre Demargne

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of the Sorbonne devoted his term at the Institute (1973) to preparing his book on the sculptures of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos in Asia Minor. The name of the Institute will be associated with the publication of still another of the great groups of early Greek sculpture, the pediments of Aegina, through a membership granted to the German scholar, Dieter Ohly (1973/74).

During his tenure of a membership in 1967/68 my Greek colleague John Travlos did much of the work on his Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens, now the standard work in its field. A membership of even a single term (1966) enabled John Ward-Perkins, then Director of the British School in Rome, to bring to completion his volume on Roman Architecture for the Pelican series, while the Swedish scholar, Einar Gjerstad used his time with us (1966/67) to write the fifth volume of his Early Rome.

Numismatists have found the Institute a good place to work, partly because of our own library resources, partly because of our proximity to the collections of the American Numismatic Society in New York. Among visiting members in this field have been George Miles (1961) and Margaret Thompson (1969) of the American Numismatic Society, Alfred R. Bellinger of Yale University (1959/60), J.P.C. Kent of the British Museum (1970/71), C.H.V. Sutherland of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (1962/63, 1968, 1973), W. Schwabacher of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm (1965/66) and George C. LeRider of the Sorbonne (1970).

Mindful of the field of interest of two of its early members, the Institute has continued to be hospitable toward scholars from the Near East or those working on Near Eastern archaeology. Among such have been Tahsin Özgüc (1962/63) and Nimet Özgüc (1966/67)) (leading students of Anatolian prehistory), Jale Inan (an active Turkish excavator and student of classical sculpture)(1967/68, 1973/74), Kenan Erim (excavator of Aprhodisias)(1964), Kurt Bittel (excavator of Bogazköy and for long President of the German Archaeological Institute) (1963, 1973),

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Paul Bernard (Director of the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan) (1971,72) and Ann B. Tilia (Archaeological Consultant, Persepolis) (1974/75). Between 1964 and 1969 the Institute was honored by repeated one-term visits of the late Henri Seyrig, dean of Near Eastern scholars, whose presence enriched the community both inside and outside the Institute.

Among visiting scholars who have been especially grateful for membership are those from eastern Europe. These have numbered some of the leading archaeologists of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. They have particularly welcomed the opportunity of establishing personal contact with western scholars, and they have revelled in the Princeton libraries.

To enable visiting members to become acquainted with one another's scholarly activities, weekly colloquia in classical studies were begun many years ago. These sessions have enabled all scholars in the field who wish to do so to present reports on their current research, and thus to elicit the interest and often the assistance of their colleagues. The practice has met with a very gratifying response.

One more word about our visiting members. Among their number have been many men and women who are not only active scholars but who also hold important positions in museums and in the archaeological services of their home countries. The personal relationships established through their visits to the Institute have frequently made life much easier for permanent members of the Institute when they in turn have become visiting scholars abroad.

Homer A. Thompson
February 5, 1975

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ASSOCIATION OF MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Abraham Flexner Memorial Lecture

May 22, 1975

THE PHILOSOPHER IN THE MARKETPLACE:
GLEANINGS FROM THE EXCAVATION OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1931-1975

by

Professor Homer A. Thompson
School of Historical Studies
Institute for Advanced Study

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Introductory Remarks by R. E. Allen

First, a word of welcome. You have come from all over the United States, from Canada, and from Europe, to be here today. And you represent an extraordinary diversity of scholarly endeavour. If you will look at the table in the center of the lobby of this library, you will find a small sample of books by members of this Association. Those books deal with Sanskrit texts in astronomy and mathematics, with medieval paleography, with papyrological evidence bearing on the activities of a Roman cohort in Egypt in the year 117 A.D., with Leveler manifestoes of the Puritan revolution, with the history of American philosophy, with medieval philosophy, with the Royal Oaths of the Aragonese, with French painting in the time of Jean de Berry, with the theory of humanistic painting, with Bernini and the tomb of the Apostles, with Nicole Oresme and the geometry of qualities and motions, with the Greek atomists, with the Early Academy and the tangled story of Plato's relation to his great successors, Speusippus, Xenocrates and Aristotle, and not least, you will find an account of the archeology of the Agora of Athens, where Socrates walked and talked and argued, and where he died.

You will find like diversity if you visit the display of books by members in mathematics and physics in the library of Fuld Hall. To many humanists, mathematics appears from the outside to be a matter of computation, more or less complex --- and mostly more complex. But at the Institute for Advanced Study, one quickly learns that from the inside, mathematics is an art form, allied perhaps to music, but more pure, as requiring no instrument except a pencil for its expression. The fruits of that art you may see, in books which are on the frontiers of topology and number theory, analysis and group representations, algebra and logic. And as you will find books on the frontiers of mathematics, so will you also find books on the frontiers of plasma and particle physics.

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Each in their several ways, these books, this modest selection, testify to that life of the mind which suggests --- however we may wish to phrase it, and all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding --- that there may yet be something of the divine in this our mortal clay. And yet judged by pragmatic standards of usefulness, many and perhaps most of these books are useless. They will not help to feed the hungry, or cure the sick, or curb the abuses of power, or the cruelty, latent or overt, which attaches to those abuses. These books are not useful precisely because they are not instruments for attaining some further good. Their worth lies in themselves. More exactly, it lies in them because of the disinterested pursuit of knowledge for its own sake which they represent. No doubt you use mathematics to build bridges, and the bridges stand. But the aim of the mathematician is not bridges, but new knowledge of mathematics. Perhaps only those who have recognized this have ever cared strongly for scholarship; and for those who have recognized it, the pursuit of understanding is its own justification, and its own reward.

There is, after all, nothing strange in the recognition that scholarship is good in itself, quite apart from any practical benefits it may happen to confer. Years ago, at St. Andrews, I heard a story which, like many stories, shows more than it says. In the old days, students came up to the Scottish universities often with a sack of oatmeal over their shoulders, and when the oatmeal ran out, they went back to their native crofts to replenish it. One such student, fresh to the university, discovered for the first time the wonder and the glory of English poetry, and especially the poetry of Blake, and when he returned to his father's croft to refill his sack, he recited to the old man,

> Tyger, Tyger, burning bright
> In the forest of the night,
> What immortal hand or eye
> Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?

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As he recited, the old man's work-weary face lit up in a glow, and when he had done, there was a moment of spell-bound silence. But then the old man caught hold of himself. "Aye," he said, "It's verra pretty. But wha' is it for?"

The answer, of course, is that there are some things which are not for anything, because they are good in themselves. They are expressions of the highest reach of the human spirit, of that striving for beauty and perfection from which great art and great scholarship both spring.

This is the high ideal which the Institute for Advanced Study has long and nobly served, and which its great founder, Abraham Flexner, whom we honor here today, intended it to serve. In his Autobiography, Flexner quotes a letter sent to him as illustrating the plane of activity which the Institute has sought to maintain:

> The main thing you have provided, to my mind, is the definition of pure scholarship as a visible value in American culture, or as you once expressed it in a phrase I like to remember, the Institute has given America 'something excellent.'

And not only America, of course, but the world. For pure scholarship and its ideals, like music and poetry and art, are not bounded by place. Scholars have come to the Institute which Flexner founded from India and China and Japan, from England and France and Germany, from Russia and Italy and Israel and Egypt and Greece. They have left, generally, closer to the frontiers of their discipline than when they came, and warmed, in what must always be the cold loneliness of their endeavour, by contact with that precious spark of excellence which the Institute kindles at its hearth. The Institute is a small place, but its influence and its ideals girdle the earth, and it is loved for those ideals, as your presence here today attests. All of this is as it should be. All of it is as Abraham Flexner intended. He did indeed

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give 'something excellent,' and it is for this that we honor him today.

We honor him in a way he would have valued, with a lecture on the Agora of ancient Athens --- a small spot of ground where men of genius walked and created, during a few brief years, a heritage in poetry and art, history and mathematics and philosophy, which continues to sustain us to this day. And we are ourselves honored, and highly honored, by a lecturer whose name will rank with the great names associated with the Institute's first greatness: with Einstein and Veblen and von Neumann and Morse, with Panofsky and Goldman and Meritt and Meiss. The Institute consists, not in bricks and mortar, but in men. Professor Homer Thompson is one of the men in whom it consists.

Professor Thompson is the senior member of the Faculty in point of service. He came to the Institute in 1947 from the University of Toronto, where he had taught since 1933, and served as Professor and Head of the Department of Art and Archeology, and as Curator of the Classical Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum. During those earlier years, there was time out for a war. Professor Thompson joined the Canadian Navy in 1942, and was promptly borrowed --- with a perspicacity which well became the Senior Service --- by the Royal Navy, in which he served as officer in charge of Naval Intelligence in the Adriatic from 1943 to 1945.

In 1934 he married Dorothy Burr Thompson, who has given richly to the Institute as a distinguished scholar in her own right.

The honors which have come to Homer Thompson are almost literally too numerous to mention. He has received the LL.D. degree from the University of British Columbia, where he did his undergraduate work and his M.A.; from the University of Michigan, where he took his Ph.D.; and from Dartmouth, the University of Toronto, Lyon, Athens, Freiburg, Wooster, and New York University. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada; a corresponding

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fellow of the British Academy; an honorary member of the German Archeological Institute, the Greek Archeological Society, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences of Göteburg, of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, of the Royal Swedish Academy, of the Archeological Institute of America, of the American Numismatical Society, of the American Philosophical Society, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. This list is partial, but representative.

Professor Thompson has been associated with the excavation of the Agora by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens since ground was first broken in 1931. He served for twenty years, from 1947 to 1967, as field director of that excavation, and he is the author, with R. E. Wycherley, of _The Agora of Athens_, a beautifully lucid and clear account of the results of excavation, and one which is of important scholarly relevance to many different areas of classical studies, not least, ancient philosophy. We are privileged, this afternoon, to hear the summing up of a life-time of distinguished endeavour. Without more ado, I give you Professor Thompson.

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THE PHILOSOPHER IN THE MARKETPLACE

Abraham Flexner Memorial Lecture
Presented at the first annual conference of the
Association of Members of the Institute for Advanced Study
May 22, 1975

It is commonly said, and with some truth, that a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study is required only to sit and think. His sitting can easily be controlled, but his thinking may require demonstration. And so in choosing my topic for discussion today I have decided to give a sample of the research on which I have been engaged while a member of the faculty. My studies have been chiefly concerned with the exploration of the Agora, the city center of ancient Athens.

This is an enterprise with which the eponym of our new lectureship, Mr Abraham Flexner, had something to do. In my first years at the Institute I had the great privilege of some acquaintance with this remarkable man. I recall an occasion when he talked of a visit to Athens some 20 years earlier, 1926 if I remember rightly. There he fell in with the Director of the American School of Classical Studies and learned that the School was eager to take up the invitation of the Greek Government to excavate the Athenian Agora. Since the Agora was recognized as one of the most historic spots in the ancient world, the prospect of its exploration had great attraction. The scholars could appreciate the historical and scientific importance of the project, but, as often, they were getting nowhere with the financing. Several million dollars were needed. As he left Athens Mr Flexner advised the Director of the School, Mr. B.H. Hill, to concentrate on the scholarly side of the matter and to leave the money-raising to him.

On returning to N.Y., Mr Flexner invited Mr John D. Rockefeller, Jr., with whom he had long been associated, to lunch at the Knickerbocker Club. As lunch

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neared an end Mr Rockefeller remarked, "From the quality of the lunch I infer, Mr. F., that you have something to ask of me; what is it?" "I wish," replied Mr F., "to give you the opportunity of acquiring immortality," "And how do you propose to do that?" "By associating yourself with the excavation of the Athenian Agora. If you do that your name will live forever, even longer than Lord Elgin's." This was the beginning of the support from Mr Rockefeller, his sons and the Rockefeller Foundation that got the project off the ground and that has continued to this day. The exploration of the Athenian Agora is thus one more of the many great undertakings in which Abraham Flexner played a vital part.

I should also like to emphasize the importance of the role that the Institute has played in this undertaking. Membership in the faculty has made it possible not only for me but also for my former colleague, Benjamin D. Meritt, to devote most of our time for many years to directing the exploration in Athens and to exploiting its results. Many other scholars both young and old who have participated in the project have been supported in their research by visiting memberships or research assistantships at the Institute. The Institute has also been a very hospitable host to the publications staff of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens under whose immediate auspices the work in Athens is done.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge my deep gratitude to the Institute for its long and unfailing support of my own scholarly work. But I should like also to draw your attention to this project as one example of the many ways in which the Institute can and does enter into far reaching and fruitful symbiotic relationships with other research organizations.

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1,2 The excavations which have been going on at the northwest foot of the Acropolis since 1931 have now brought to light almost the whole of the Agora. On the left you see the area as it now looks, on the right as it appeared at the height of its development in the 2nd century after Christ. For many centuries, from the 6th B.C. until the 3rd A.D., this was the focal point of community life in the city state: the center of civic administration, the chief scene of business and commercial life, a place for religious, dramatic and athletic events, and a "national gallery" replete with fine architecture, sculpture and paintings.

But today I wish to emphasize still another way in which the Agora contributed to the life of the community. The Apostle Paul, visiting Athens in the middle of the 1st century, is reported to have discoursed with those whom he met in the Agora, among them certain philosophers of the Epicurean and Stoic sects. Hearing him talk about a strange god, and about a strange religious idea, they took him before the Council of the Areopagus for examination.

In Paul's day, to be sure, there were also other centers of intellectual life in Athens. The old schools of philosophy had well established bases with libraries, classrooms, colonnades and gardens. The schools were for the most part associated with the gymnasia, both the old foundations such as the Academy and the Lyceum in the suburbs, and the newer like the Ptolemaion and the Diogeneion near the middle of the city. But Paul nevertheless went as a matter of course to the Agora, and there was in fact a very old and very strong tradition of philosophical discourse in that part of the city.

One of the buildings of the Agora in which Paul undoubtedly met with the local philosophers of his day was the two-storeyed colonnade erected on the east side of the square by Attalos II, King of Pergamon 159-138 B.C. This building,

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as most of you know, was reconstructed in the 1950's on the original foundations primarily to serve as a museum to house the finds from the excavation. The reconstruction also helps us to visualize one of the most characteristic types of Greek civic architecture, an ideal place in which to stroll and talk.

5,6 In the ruins of the Stoa we came on a base for a seated bronze statue. The inscription on its front informs us that the statue was a portrait of Karneades, the head of the Academy through much of the 2nd century B.C. It was dedicated by two monarchs, Attalos of Pergamon, the donor of the Stoa, and his brother-in-law, Ariarathes of Cappadocia. It appears that these two in their youth had sat at the feet of the famous philosopher, and then on the construction of the Stoa had honored their old teacher by setting up his portrait. Cicero when in Athens a century later saw and admired the statue (de Fin. V,2,4). The original has perished; I show you a copy of the Roman period now in Ravenna.

7,8 If we go back a bit farther in time we find that the favorite haunt of philosophers in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. was an older and much more famous colonnade: the Painted Stoa that took its name from a series of great battle murals on its wall. There are scores of references to this building in the ancient authors, but its ruins have thus far eluded the excavators. There is good reason to believe that it stood on the north edge of the Agora and faced south,--the ideal exposure in Greece. It is the last of the famous buildings of the Agora still to be found, and this cannot happen until a dozen Athenian property owners have been persuaded to part with their land. In the meantime we must be satisfied with a few fragments from the superstructure of the Stoa that were extracted some years ago from a late antique wall just to the south of its supposed location.

9,10 These tantalizing scraps, glowing with color, attest the high quality of the building and indicate a date just before the middle of the 5th century B.C. The

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building was famous for its murals, but today we think of it chiefly as the place where Zeno in the years around 300 B.C. established a school of philosophy that took its name from the building and came to be called "the Stoa." Our own excavations have yielded only the inscribed pedestal of a portrait of Zeno. I show you instead a complete bust now in Naples. It answers well to Diogenes Laertius' statement that Zeno "had a morose and bitter expression and a pinched face." But the same author informs us that the Athenians esteemed him highly "for his teaching of virtue and temperance."

11,12 Before evolving his own philosophical system, Zeno had sampled earlier schools, notably Cynicism as then represented by Krates of Thebes. Krates, we are told, was a firm believer in the frugal existence advocated by the Cynics, so much so that he and his wife, Hipparchia, having sold their belongings and having neither house nor furniture, spent day and night in the public stoas at Athens. The consequences could be embarrassing for the pupils of the great man. Krates' conduct became notorious, not to say scandalous. It is believed to have inspired this lively little picture from the Garden of the Farnesina, now in the Terme Museum in Rome.

Diogenes, the teacher of Krates and the founder of the Cynic Way of life, was satisfied with still more modest living accommodation. Among the many picturesque touches in the biographical notices is the story of his living in a pithos or great jar. This is illustrated time after time in marble and in gems. I show you a gem of the Roman period in the Thorwaldsen Museum in Copenhagen. The outstretched hand is typical of the teacher; the shaggy hair and crooked staff mark him as a Cynic. In front of him sits a fellow sectarian or pupil, book in hand. The Cynics took pride in maintaining that they were prepared to change their

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way of life with that of dogs, (kynes) hence the name of the school: = Cynic. Here between the two philosophers is shown a dog who has cheerfully, it seems, turned over his dwelling to Diogenes.

13,14 Diogenes was a pupil of Antisthenes, the real founder of the sect of the Cynics, and Antisthenes in turn was one of the most devoted followers of Sokrates. It is to Sokrates that I should like to devote my remaining time. He, as you may have guessed, is my "philosopher in the market place."

I cannot and do not pretend that our excavations have added one whit to our knowledge of Sokrates' thought, For that we must continue to depend on the ancient authors, above all on those who knew him at first-hand; Aristophanes, Plato and Xenophon, to some extent also on Aristotle who is however a second-hand witness. What we can draw from our excavations in the heart of Athens is some help in visualizing the circumstances under which Sokrates carried on his discourse, and the atmosphere of the place in which he certainly spent a large part of his time. Harold Cherniss has warned us of the danger of trying to grasp "the historical Sokrates." I shall do my best to refrain from "expanding the evidence," nor shall I attempt to do an oil painting when the evidence barely suffices for a pencil sketch.

I do believe however that some attempt is worthwhile. Sokrates left behind no professional writing, and he probably never produced any; had the rule of "publish or perish" existed in the 5th century, Sokrates would never have received tenure. Furthermore, he stoutly denied being a teacher in the formal sense of the term: in particular he refused, wisely, I suppose, ever to accept money for his efforts to improve mankind. Despite his own protestations he proved,

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however, to be one of the world's greatest teachers. I submit that those of us who are interested in the processes of education and in the history of ideas should welcome any new evidence on the way in which Sokrates achieved his success.

I have said above that Sokrates spent much of his time in the Agora. There is abundant literary evidence to this effect. You may recall a passage near the beginning of the Apology (17) in which Sokrates asks the jurors not to be surprised if they hear him using the words which he had been in the habit of using in the Agora, at the tables of the money changers or anywhere else. This, one infers, had become his normal manner of speech. Xenophon, in describing Sokrates' daily habits, reports "Sokrates lived always in the open, for early in the morning he would go to the public promenades and the gymnasia; at the busiest shopping time he was to be seen in the Agora, and for the rest of the day he was wherever most pepple were to be met" (Mem. I, 1,10). Aristeides, writing in the 2nd century after Christ, observed "Sokrates more than any other Athenian talked with both citizens and foreigners at the tables and shops (XLVI.134).

It is also clear from many scattered references in the ancient authors that Sokrates frequented the workshops (ergasteria), many of which, as we now know, stood on the roads just outside the Agora proper. To start again with the Apology: when Sokrates was bent on checking the statement of the Delphic oracle to the effect that there was no man wiser than Sokrates he went first to the politicians, then to the poets and finally to the artisans (demiourgoi)(22). It was to the artisans that Sokrates gave highest marks. They did not, however, receive a perfect score: of the three accusers at the trial Meletos was said to have represented the poets, Lykon the rhetoricians, Anytos the craftsmen and politicians, all of whom had suffered from Sokrates' lash (Diog.Laert. II.39). In the dialogues, of course, Sokrates is constantly drawing lessons from the handicrafts, so much so

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that his old pupil Kritias, when he found himself momentarily in a position of authority late in the life of the philosopher, warned Sokrates that henceforth "you will have to avoid your favorite topic;--the cobblers, builders and metal workers, for that subject is already in my opinion worn to rags by you." (Xen., Mem., I.2.37).

Sokrates was equally at home in the studios and workshops of practising artists. If you will re-read Xenophon's lively account of Sokrates' interviews with Parrhasios the painter, Kleiton the sculptor and Pistias the maker of fine armor you will realize that his questions were based on close observation at first hand (Xen., Mem., III, 10, 1-15).

Let us now try to relate some of the archaeological evidence to the literary, starting with the workshops and the artisans. Diogenes Laertius in his biographical sketch reports a literary tradition to the effect that Sokrates had been a sculptor in his youth. At the entrance to the Acropolis a group of the three Graces, well clad, were pointed out to Pausanias in the 2nd century after Christ as the work of the philosopher. This relief is known through some eight or nine replicas, most of them certainly found in Athens. The popularity of the otherwise modest work is undoubtedly due to its association with the famous name. But the style points to a date for the original relief close to the time of Sokrates' birth, i.e. ca. 470 B.C. Most likely the sculptor was some other Sokrates, a confusion that may underlie the tradition of the philosopher having started life as a sculptor.

More plausible is the tradition that Sokrates' father, Sophroniskos, was a stoneworker, i.e. presumably a sculptor (Diog.Laert. 5.18). We have no record of his productions, but we can point to a district where sculptors working in marble were busily engaged in their little shops through most of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. This is much the most active area of marble-working known in the

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ancient city. We are here looking at its ruins with the Areopagus and the Acropolis in the background. The Agora lies just to the left of this view. Let us pause for a moment over one of the individual shops, one that was excavated in 1968. It consisted of a half dozen rooms of irregular size and shape grouped to either side of an unroofed courtyard below which were two cisterns, The building stood at a busy street corner ca. 50 yards outside the southwest corner of the Agora. It was in use from the second quarter of the 5th century into the 3rd century B.C. Like most of the private buildings in the environs of the Agora this one probably served as both house and shop. The occupation of the residents was clearly indicated by masses of marble chips deposited in layers in various rooms: evidently the waste from the carving of statues. The name of one of the latest occupants, Menon, is scratched on the underside of several of his porridge bowls which were found in the ruins.

15,16

Other evidence of marble working was found in other such establishments in the same area. Here for instance are a couple of pieces of abrasive stone used in grinding and polishing marble; they are of a size to fit comfortably in the hand. From another shop comes this unfinished marble statuette of Herakles, less than a foot in height, of the late 5th century B.C. The unfinished surfaces are of interest for the technique of marble work at this period.

17,18

I do not, of course, insist on any direct connection between these sculptors' shops and our philosopher. But they are just such establishments as that in which the young Sokrates may have assisted his father, and it was surely in shops like these that Sokrates the philosopher put his searching questions to professional sculptors who must often have been annoyed by their persistent guest.

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19,20 In addition to the shops where statues were carved from marble we have come on several establishments where statues of bronze were cast. These too lie close outside the Agora to the west and southwest of the square. They range in date from the middle of the 6th into the 2nd century B.C. The best preserved part of such a shop is normally the pit sunk into the soft bedrock to receive the mould for the statue. The mould was cunningly constructed of a clay core and a clay envelope separated by a thin coating of wax which was melted out by baking so as to leave a cavity for the molten bronze. Here we have such a pit on the west border of the Agora; it was used for the casting of a statue of Apollo about 3 ft. in height in the 6th century B.C.

21,22 For the atmosphere of a bronze caster's shop we may best turn to a red-figured cup now in Berlin. Like most of the finest Athenian pottery, the cup was made and painted in our region of the city which was commonly known as the Potters' Quarter, the Kerameikos. In all likelihood the potter's shop stood cheek by jowl beside a bronze-caster's establishment. The date is ca. 470 B.C. On the floor of the cup we see Hephaistos, the divine smith, with great deliberation putting the finishing touches on a helmet for Achilles while the hero's mother,

23,24 Thetis, stands impatiently waiting to carry away the whole suit of armor. On the outside of the cup the painter has given us vivid glimpses into a human establishment, a shop for the making of bronze statues. On the left screen we see the tall furnace with the crucible on top; an attendant in front pokes the fire, another behind works the bellows. The wall is littered with tools and apotropaic "pinups." The work on two great statues is already far advanced. In the lower picture on the right-hand screen, a figure is being assembled; the head has yet to be added. This is clearly to be a statue of a runner at the start of a race. On the other side of the cup the second statue is nearing completion.

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It has been set up under a simple shelter in the courtyard, and it is receiving its final polish at the hands of two craftsmen, apprentices to judge from their scale. This statue represents a warrior about to hurl a great spear. The dignified figure to the left is the proprietor-artist giving instructions to the young men. Opposite stands a visitor; he looks on critically, and, being a Greek, he will not hesitate to make comments or to ask questions.

On the inside of the cup we saw the god Hephaistos honoring Achilles with a magnificent suit of armor. On the outside honor is being done by human artificers to the same hero. Achilles is to be represented in the two roles in which he appears most frequently in the Iliad: as the swift runner and as the redoubtable spearman. The close juxtiposition of divine and human agents reminds one of the poets' reliance on divine cooperation as illustrated for instance by the opening invocations addressed to the muses in the Iliad and the Odyssey. The sculptor has here fared well at the hands of his neighbor the vase-painter.

The scenes on this small cup give us, I submit, a very illuminating indication of how the craftsmen of classical Athens regarded their professions. There is here clear evidence of dignity, self respect, professional pride; qualities that pass unnoticed in most of the ancient authors. It was with such men as these that Sokrates enjoyed talking, and from them, as he himself admits, he learned much. Let me quote the opening lines of the conversation recorded by Xenophon between Sokrates and the sculptor Kleiton to which I have referred above: "Kleiton, I see and know that your statues of runners, wrestlers, boxers and fighters are beautiful. But how do you produce in them that illusion of life which is their most alluring charm to the beholder?" (Mem III.10,6). The sculptor, inarticulate, responds in monosyllables, and the philosopher proceeds to discourse on the work to its own creator. Artists and philosophers (or in this context should we say "art historians"?) have changed little from that day to this.

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25,26 Leaving the sculptor's shop Sokrates proceeds to call on Pistias, the maker of fine armor (Xenophon, Mem. III;.10.9ff.), and again he catechizes the craftsman. Of the fine armor that was produced in Athens in the time of Sokrates practically none survives. We are fortunate, however, in having found in our excavations some curious records of a few pieces of outstanding quality. These consist of impressions taken in soft clay from figures that had been worked in repoussé, i.e. by hammering in the bronze of the armor. Let me illustrate with just a couple of pieces, the one on the left from the cheek piece of a helmet, that on the right from the clasp of a belt. The scale is of course miniature, the one about two the other about four inches in height. On the left we have an anonymous warrior, on the right Odysseus mourning. The technical virtuosity is breathtaking, and the depiction of feeling, especially in the piece on the right, is beyond praise. Yet my wife, who published the Odysseus some years ago, questioned whether Sokrates would have approved. Sokrates, having served in three strenous military campaigns, knew what was most needed in armor: viz. a good fit. And he persuaded Pistias the armor-maker to agree that a breastplate, however ornate and gilded it might be, was a poor thing unless it fitted the body.

27,28 If you can bear with me I should like to introduce you to one more Athenian craftsman. He lived and worked in a small and rather grubby shop that was explored by my wife many years ago. The building stood in the angle between two roads that issued from the southwest corner of the main square opposite the Tholos. It fell just outside the official limits of the Agora: a marble pillar set against the wall of the shop reads, in characters of ca. 500 B.C., "I am the boundary marker of the Agora." The establishment consisted of several rooms grouped around a court-yeard in which opened a well. Its history could be traced from the late 6th into

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the 4th century B.C. The debris recovered from the well included many domestic oddments, enough to show that people had lived here. But in

29,30 the second half of the 5th century at least there had also been a shoemaker's shop. The floors of that period were sprinkled with large-headed iron hobnails of a kind suitable for heavy boots such as that of which I show a miniature ancient model.

31,32 The broken foot of a wine cup found at the same level in the street in front of the house is scratched with its owner's name; Simon. This we may safely assume was also the name of the proprietor of the shop. My wife was not slow to discover in the handbooks a shoemaker by the name of Simon who had been active at the appropriate period, i.e. in the second half of the 5th century. Sokrates, we are told by Diogenes Laertius (II.13), was accustomed to call on Simon in his workshop. He did not, I suppose, give Simon much business, but he did impress him with his conversation, so much so that Simon began to take notes, and later published a volume of Socratic dialogues. The texts have perished, probably because they couldn't compete with those by Plato and Xenophon, but Diogenes quotes some thirty titles. His biographer goes on to say of Simon that Perikles had offered him support if Simon would join him, "No thank you," replied the shoemaker," I will not give up my free speech for money."

For the atmosphere of the shop we turn once more to the vase-paintings, made, I remind you, by neighboring craftsmen. These pictures give the impression of very small establishments, the proprietor working alone or with the assistance of a single apprentice. We see a girl or a boy brought in for a fitting, in each case accompanied by a well dressed and dignified father. A touch of elegance

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is given by the design of tables and stools. You may if you wish recognize Simon himself in the bald-headed, determined character on the red-figured tondo. This man, I venture to think, could have endured the endless talk of Sokrates; he could also have said "no" to Perikles.

33,34 While we are thinking of shoemakers I cannot refrain from showing you a delightful marble relief though it is of somewhat later date; it is a chance find of 1972. The little picture adorns the pedestal of the votive offering proper which has gone. Here we see a whole family at work. Business is flourishing,-that is clear from the beautiful chairs, available for everybody but the youngest son. Here too we have the name of the proprietor; you can see it written on the marble: Dionysios. On the face of the shaft is a little poem in which Dionysios records a dedication from him and his sons to the Hero Kallistephanos and his sons; in return Dionysios asks for prosperity and good health. The date is the second half of the 4th century B.C.

35,36 Enough of the workshops. Let us now follow Sokrates into the Agora proper. To visualize the place as it was in the later 5th century B.C. one must subract from this plan the square peristyle (probably a lawcourt) on the east side, and the small temple of Apollo on the west; both these buildings date from the 4th century. But one must add an important element which is not indicated on the drawing, viz. the shady avenues of plane trees that had been planted by the statesman Kimon before the middle of the century. Of the buildings available for informal intercourse the most suitable would have been the stoas of which at least five existed already in the time of Sokrates. In the 4th century and later, as we have seen, the portico most favoured by the philosophers was the Painted Stoa which, as I have said, is still to be discovered somewhere on the north side of the square. And Sokrates did undoubtedly from time to time stroll in the shade of that building. But the literary tradition is curiously unanimous in associating Sokrates with another

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of the early stoas, viz. that of Zeus Eleutherios that stood on the west side toward its north end. This stoa was erected and ready for use a little before the end of the century.

Sadly little of this lovely building remains to us. Its foundations were the first to come to light in the American excavations; they began to appear in 1931, here at the foot of the hill on which the Temple of Hephaistos stands. Enough of the foundations remains to give us the ground plan of the Stoa and enough

37,38 scattered blocks from its superstructure to assure the accuracy of these reconstructions. The design was unusual, the ends of the building being bent forward at right angles and treated like temple facades. This portico in fact had a curiously dual personality; it was referred to both as the Stoa of Zeus and as the Sanctuary of Zeus. Not only the planning but also the construction of the building were of top quality. On its walls, as we are told by Pausanias, were paintings by the famous artist Euphranor: the 12 Gods, a group comprising Theseus, Democracy and the People of Athens, the Battle of Mantineia. At the foot of the

39,40 wall we found the underpinning of a continuous bench. And in front of the building we came on this life-sized marble torso of Nike, one of a set of four that stood on the outer angles of the facades.

Here then was a very pleasant place to stroll or to sit, looking out through the marble colonnades on the busy life of the Agora. It must have been especially agreeable in the afternoon hours, for the building faced due east. We have repeated references in the ancient authors to Sokrates meeting with friends in this Stoa. It is the setting of Xenophon's Oeconomicus, that long discourse on how to manage a household and a wife. In two of the pseudo-Platonic dialogues, the Eryxias and the Theages, Sokrates strolls here with friends. In a volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri published in 1972 (vol. XXXIX) you will find a scrap of a Socratic dialogue

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by Aeschines Socraticus. It runs like this, Sokrates speaking: "It happened to be the time of the Panathenaic procession. I was sitting in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios together with Hagnon the father of Theramenes and Euripides the poet when Miltiades came up to us." This then was surely the scene of some of the pleasantest hours of Sokrates' later years: among agreeable companions, in a comfortable, indeed a gracious setting, in full view of the Agora.

41,42 Less pleasant were the hours spent in the Agora by Sokrates on the two occasions when he was involved in civic service. The first came after the sea battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. The people of Athens had been enraged with their commanding officers, accusing them of negligence in the rescue of survivors. So impetuous were the citizens that they insisted on trying all eight of the generals together rather than singly as required by law. Sokrates happened at the time to be a member of the Council of 500, and furthermore a member of the presiding panel of prytaneis. He alone, at peril of his life, opposed putting the illegal motion before the Assembly. The Assembly presumably met in its usual place on the nearby Pnyx, but the panel of prytaneis took their meals and discussed their duties in the small round building, the Tholos, that stood at the southwest corner of the main square. The remains of this building came to light in 1934. It proves to have been

43,44 utterly simple in plan, circular with six interior columns; the porch was added later. The most characteristic and colorful part of the building was its conical roof of terracotta of which many fragments have been found.

Two years later Sokrates again found himself in the Tholos. At that time it was occupied by the so-called "Thirty Tyrants" who had now begun to abuse their power, arresting and executing honest but well-to-do citizens not for political reasons but in order to get hold of their property. On one occasion

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Sokrates along with four others was summoned to the Tholos by the Thirty and ordered by them to make the arrest of one Leon of Salamis. The others proceeded to Salamis but, as Sokrates proudly reminded the jury in the Apology, he went quietly home, though he did so at grave peril of death.

Here then we are once again in a position to visualize the physical setting of particular episodes in Sokrates' life.

45,46 We are now nearing the final chapter in that life. At the close of the Peloponnesian War, as a result of the crushing military defeat and of the political convulsions that had taken place both before and after, Athenian emotions were in a tumultuous state. By his perpetual criticism and his sometimes fatuous appearance of self righteousness Sokrates had aroused so much ill will that he was a natural choice for a scapegoat. A formal charge was laid against him in 399 B.C. He was accused of not believing in the gods recognized by the city but of introducing strange supernatural beings, and of corrupting the youth. From the point of view of the state the most significant part was the religious. Impiety was involved, and any court proceedings concerning a charge of impiety came under the oversight of the archon basileus, i.e. the Royal Archon. This official, one of the three senior magistrates of Athens, had his seat in the Stoa Basileios, the Royal Stoa. Sokrates was therefore required to take himself to this building and to appear before the Royal Archon. This is stated explicitly in two of the Platonic dialogues, the Euthyphro and the Theaetetus.

Pausanias, the "Baedeker" of the 2nd century after Christ on whom we depend for most of our identifications, referred to the Royal Stoa as the first on the right as one entered the Agora coming from the principal gate of Athens, the Dipylon. We began our search for the building at the start of our excavations in 1931; we found it in 1970 exactly at the spot indicated by Pausanias. You have

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it here in this small structure close alongside the Stoa of Zeus and over-

47,48 looked like that Stoa by the Temple of Hephaistos. Enough remains of the foundations and of the superstructure to justify this restoration. It turns out to be a "mini-stoa", only some 58 ft in length, with an inner and an outer row of columns. The date is ca. 500 B.C., and the building continued in use until ca. A.D. 400, as one of the most frequented of all the civic buildings of Athens. One of the chief purposes of the Stoa was to serve as a repository for the laws of the city. The excavations have in fact yielded a dozen fragments of the law codes of Drako and of Solon engraved on marble. This then was a logical place for the nine annual archons or magistrates of the city to appear and take their oath of office as described by Aristotle in his essay on the Constitution of the Athenians. At this time they swore to preserve the laws during their term of office. In front of the Stoa we have come on the massive block of stone on which the archons stood to take the oath, the _lithos_ mentioned by Aristotle. But for our immediate purpose the chief interest of the building is that in it sat the Royal Archon together with his two assessors. It was here then that Sokrates appeared in 399 B.C., to be examined and to be informed of the impending trial.

49,50 On the left you have the Royal Stoa as it appeared from inside the Agora. The ancient authors tell of numbers of images of the god Hermes that stood in front of the Royal Stoa. These were of the characteristic Athenian type in which the trunk was rendered schematically, and attention was concentrated on the vital parts. In archaeological jargon such figures are called "Herms." The original function of these figures was undoubtedly religious. Hermes was the god of travel and of commerce; he was also the divine guardian of entrances. It was therefore appropriate that he should be represented at the main entrance to the principal market place of the city. In excavating the Royal Stoa we have in fact come on the remains of upwards of a score of such Herms, several of them _in situ_ on the steps of the building.

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These Herms concern our theme in two ways. We are told that Sokrates was accused of spending too much time "among the Herms and the tables," i.e. the tables of the money changers or bankers, and in the Apology Sokrates himself admits that his way of speaking has been influenced by his "frequenting the Agora and the tables." The location of the Herms is now fixed. A marble inscription of the 4th century B.C. found in 1970 in front of the Royal Stoa and published only last month deals with the control of silver currency in Athens. According to its own text the inscription was to be set up "among the tables." A position near the entrance to the Agora would have been as appropriate for the money changers as for the Herms. We may safely conclude that both the Herms and the tables stood near the Royal Stoa at the northwest entrance to the Agora. In frequenting this area Sokrates had ample opportunity to talk not only with the money changers and bankers but also with out-of-towners who stopped to change money as they entered the Agora.

Many of you will have guessed the second reason for my reference to the Herms. You will recall the mutilation of the Herms that occurred on a fateful summer night in 415 B.C. The citizens awoke to find that the figures of Hermes throughout the city had been damaged in one way or another. It was the time when the great expedition was about to sail for Sicily, and the emotions of the people were already feverish. The abuse of the sacred images was regarded as a deliberate and impious act that was likely to bring disaster to the city. As you will recall from your ancient history, the matter became a cause celebre and eventually led to the execution of a number of distinguished citizens and to the banishment of others. Closely coupled with the mutilation of the Herms was the parodying of the Mysteries of Demeter. Alkibiades was accused of complicity, and rather than face the charge he went over to the enemy. His defection sealed the fate of the Sicilian

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Expedition and changed the course of history. Alkibiades as one of the most prominent of the youthful associates of Sokrates was pointed to as a prime example of the way Sokrates had corrupted the youth, and there can be no doubt that the memory of this particularly flagrant episode strongly affected men's thinking in 399 B.C.

As you will see from the sketch of a group of these Herms on a red-figured sherd now in the Louvre, the figures were vulnerable at more points than one.

51,52 Our excavations have yielded two heads of Herms that had certainly suffered in 415 B.C. The one on the left came to light in 1972 in front of the Royal Stoa in a context of the late 5th century B.C. This Herm had lost his whole head which was never replaced. The other Herm had lost only his nose. This was restored in antiquity, and the new member was secured by a metal pin of which only the hole remains. You will realize that these mutilated divinities standing prominently in the Agora must have been constant reminders of the shocking events of 415 B.C.

53,54 We move on to the trial. It is generally agreed that Sokrates was tried before a dikastic court of 501 jurors under the presidency of the Royal Archon. It is altogether probable that the proceedings took place in one or other of the several courthouses that stood on or close to the Agora. Beyond that we can probably never go with complete certainty. Buildings identifiable as lawcourts have come to light near both the northeast and the southwest corners of the Agora. The most likely candidate for the court used in Sokrates' trial now appears to be the large rectangular enclosure which we have tentatively identified as the court called the Heliaia near the southwest corner of the square. On the right hand screen you see it under excavation in 1953. The size is certainly adequate, and the date is suitable; the building was erected early in the 5th century B.C. and it continued in use for centuries.

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55,56 Here you have the Heliaia restored in relation to the neighboring buildings of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. As you see, it occupied a prominent position just inside another of the principal entrances to the Agora.

In the course of our excavations we have recovered much of the equipment used in the lawcourts: the allotment machines for selecting jurors, the bronze identification cards, the tokens entitling the jurymen to receive their wages at the end of the day. Most of this material dates from the 4th century and the Hellenistic period. Let me show you instead a device that dates precisely from the time of Sokrates' trial. This unprepossessing terracotta jar, 9 inches in height, was recovered from a well a few yards to the north of the Heliaia. It was long ago recognized as a water clock of the type used for measuring speeches in the lawcourts; such clocks are referred to repeatedly in the orators. A hole near the rim permitted the vessel to be filled with precisely the same amount of water for each speaker. The water escaped through a much smaller, bronze-lined aperture at the bottom, and the speaker could speak only as long as the water ran. Our clock, the only one of its kind yet known, runs for 6 minutes. Clearly it would have had to be refilled a number of times for a speech as long as Plato's Apology which would take upwards of an hour to deliver.

57,58 At the first session of the court Sokrates was found guilty. The penalty called for by the prosecution was death. When asked what he regarded as a reasonable alternative Sokrates said that as a public benefactor he regarded himself worthy of maintenance in the Prytaneion at the public charge. Because of this and other indications of complete intransigence, the court at its final session voted with a still greater majority for the death penalty.

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Contrary to normal custom the execution did not take place immediately. Religious scruples required that no such thing should be done until after an annual sacred mission had returned from Delos. Sokrates was therefore taken to the public prison (desmoterion) and there he remained for a month, a period that is described in extraordinary detail and with deep feeling by Plato in his Phaedo. The prison is said to have been close to the court where the trial occurred. It faced on an important thoroughfare. It had some facilities for bathing. There was accommodation for the prison staff as well as for the prisoners. There is no need to look for a large building since imprisonment was not a normal punishment, and prisoners were usually kept only for short periods before and after trial.

For many years we have been embarrassed by our inability to answer the frequent and perfectly legitimate question: where was the prison of Sokrates? Now at last we can provide a virtually certain answer. The solution was found only a few weeks ago by Eugene Vanderpool, my long-time colleague in Athens and a former visiting member of the Institute. Through brilliant collation of the literary and the archaeological evidence Vanderpool has fixed on a building a short distance outside the southwest corner of the Agora. Its ruinous remains were exposed in our excavations soon after World War II. Various other identifications had been considered for the building, but none had appeared entirely satisfactory. The building does seem, however, to meet all the requirements noted above for the state prison.

The structure dates from about the middle of the 5th century, and it continued in use at least into the 3rd century. It stood less than 100 yards from the court in which the trial probably took place. It faced on an important street.

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Its plan comprised three principal parts: two series of rooms, eight in all, each ca. 14 ft. square; between the two series an unroofed passage led back to a large courtyard; at the northeast corner is a semi-independent unit, two storeys in height. The construction is simple but sturdy: socles of large limestone blocks with crude brick above. The rooms were floored with clay. In the outermost room of the series of five a terracotta basin was set down in the floor, and a large pithos in the middle of the room was clearly intended to hold a supply of water. In the semi-detached unit is a cistern system that drew its water from the roof.

Vanderpool supposes that the prisoners were normally confined one in each of the small rooms. Any one of these rooms might have held the dozen or so friends who are reported in the Phaedo to have been present at the end. Sokrates at least was fettered so that no great security measures were needed. The open court could have served as an exercise yard, and it could have accommodated an unusual influx of prisoners. The semi-detached unit would have provided accommodation for the prison officials and staff. The washing facilities in the small corner unit would have enabled Sokrates to take his last bath as described in the Phaedo, "to save the women the trouble of washing the corpse."

59,60 The restored perspective by John Travlos, another old Athenian colleague and twice a visiting member of this Institute, will help you to visualize the building.

In an abandoned chamber of the cistern in the semi-detached block the excavators came on this lot of 13 small terracotta jars; they stand ca. 1 1/2 in. in height. Elsewhere such jars are known to have been used for medicine and drugs. Vanderpool is inclined to believe that in the present context they may have held hemlock. The poison was apparently administered in a powerful form and

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in a carefully measured dose. You may recall that when Sokrates asked the jailer whether he might pour a libation to any god to prosper his journey to the other world the jailer refused, explaining that he prepared only enough poison for the business in hand. This lot of containers could have nothing to do with Sokrates since they are of the 3rd century B.C., but the building continued in use, as we have seen, at least into that time and the use of hemlock persisted.

61,62 Among the ruins of the building was found this fragmentary marble statuette. It is marked as a philosopher by beard and cloak, and comparison with the well authenticated portrait of Sokrates in the British Museum leaves no real doubt that our piece also represents Sokrates. What, in that case, you will ask was it doing here? Let me remind you of Diogenes Laertius' account (II.43) of the speedy and violent repentance of the Athenian people; they put Meletos to death and banished the other accusers; and they erected a bronze statue in honor of Sokrates.

We began our tour among the sculptors' workshops outside the southwest corner of the Agora, and we end it at almost exactly the same point. I hope that these few observations may help you a little toward a surer grasp of the way of life of this man of whom his friend Phaedo remarked "of all the men of his time whom I have known he was the wisest and justest and best" (Plato, _Phaedo_, 118).

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THE PHILOSOPHER IN THE MARKETPLACE

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